

FRENCH POLITICS.

THE ELECTIONS IN THE HAUTES PYRENEES.

VARIOUS PARTISAN THEORIES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE BONAPARTIST CANDIDATE—POLITICAL AIMS OF THE DUKES D'AUDIFFRET-PASQUIER—THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY IN REGARD TO THE NIEVRE ELECTION.

(FROM THE REGULAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.)
PARIS, Dec. 20.—Though elections resemble each other in their general features, each, as it follows, adds a new line to the lesson taught by its predecessors, and has a physiognomy of its own. None has been more significant nor better worth studying than this last in the Hautes Pyrenees. Of the five deputies sent to Bordeaux from this department, one was a Republican and four were Monarchists. All of these last an extreme Legitimist. All voted the deposition of Napoleon and his dynasty. At the election held on the 3d of this month four candidates presented themselves. Cazaux, a Bonapartist, had 19,743 votes; Aliot, Suptennalist, 16,412; Brabanban, Republican, 12,153; Puysegros, clerical Legitimist, 1,738. No one having a majority, the second trial came off two weeks later. Meantime the Legitimist simply withdrew from the contest, the Republican withdrew in favor of the Septennist, who was now sustained by Republican committees and Republican journals of all shades. "Although he was the candidate of the Prefect," on the ground that "any one was better than a Bonapartist." The canvass went on briskly. The result last Sunday was a complete triumph for the Imperialists. Of 65,000, the whole number of registered electors, 53,000—that is, 2,000 more than on the first trial—went to the polls; and Cazaux was returned by 27,701 votes, against 23,100 cast for Aliot.

The defeated parties, as usual, gave a variety of more or less contradictory and ingenious explanations of the phenomenon. These, spoken in as much anger as sorrow, if not more, largely consist of imitations; the remainder is made up of declamatory abuse of the Imperialists. It is authentically certain that if all of Brabanban's constituents had gone over to Aliot, and if all Aliot's mixed following had stood firm, the latter must have been elected. So far as one can judge from conflicting testimonies and the nature of the case, it seems that on one hand a portion of the Republican Democrats declined to be suddenly persuaded to vote for a man against whom and whose supporters they and their leaders had so lately been marshaled in active hostility, and preferred a Bonapartist, who was at least Democrat and had a distinct programme, to the very doubtful Republican candidate of Royalist representation; the remainder is made up of declamatory abuse of the Imperialists. It is authentically certain that if all of Brabanban's constituents had gone over to Aliot, and if all Aliot's mixed following had stood firm, the latter must have been elected. So far as one can judge from conflicting testimonies and the nature of the case, it seems that on one hand a portion of the Republican Democrats declined to be suddenly persuaded to vote for a man against whom and whose supporters they and their leaders had so lately been marshaled in active hostility, and preferred a Bonapartist, who was at least Democrat and had a distinct programme, to the very doubtful Republican candidate of Royalist representation; the remainder is made up of declamatory abuse of the Imperialists.

The Republicans killed poor Aliot, say the Orleanists, and should not be Republicans. The Republicans retort; the Orleanists killed Aliot, and should not be Orleanists. There is a large clerical Legitimist element in the Department, which is the earthly demit of Our Miraculous Lady of Lourdes. The Marquis de Francien, a pure, blue-blooded leader of the Chambordist squadron, was elected there four years ago by 28,000 votes. Some of these now have favored Aliot, but more Cazaux. The clerical managers are shrewd enough to know there is no chance for Chambord, and that, between any other monarch and the son of Eugene, the chances of favor to their cause are best under the reign of Napoleon IV. Has not the Pope already pronounced for his other young godson, Alfonso? The thorough-going political or worldly Legitimists, who, from pride of consistency, sheer obstinacy, or other sentiment, theoretically nail the white flag to the mast, if they must, in practice, leave the quarter-deck, would much prefer comfortably joining as cabin passengers of the ship of state flying the tri-color, under Commander Napoleon IV, than Commander Louis Philippe II. Any thing rather than Orleanism since the depredations of August-November, 1873. The Orleans have never brought good to the elder branch, least of all when the Comte de Paris carried his homage to Frohsdorf. The simple, secluded, lymphatic gentleman residing there took that "complimentary vote" for real homage rendered to him and his principles and party by his penitent cousin and heir representative of his party and its more improved principles. What else should he and his take it for, unless assuming dishonesty in the cousin? So he held to his nameplate flag, and destroyed a "combination" that his poor, soft, divine-right head never comprehended. Hard-headed worldlings blame him for this honorably consistent stupidity. To cover the mischief for the moment, the astute Duke de Broglie and helpers constituted the *Septennat*. In lack of large strength and great faults, renowned for its astuteness, is the Duke de Broglie's weakness. The rank, with attendant influence and esteem of able political manager (let alone statesman), that has hitherto been allotted to this hereditarily honorable, highly cultured, but essentially narrow-minded, cast and class doctrinaire politician, is a curious phenomenon of this confused French time. No one of several too ingenious schemes of his devising, as substitutes for statesmanlike plans and institutions, works to his purpose. This election in the Hautes Pyrenees, subjected to whatever pressure his modifications of the electoral law, and all his other combative measures for moral or administrative by one of his prefects could be brought to bear, results in the helpless defeat of his *Septennat* candidate. I say his, for, though the Duke de Broglie has not been in office for many months, the *Septennat* generally and its administrative force as applied against Republicanism and to elections particularly, have been guided and misruled, directly or indirectly, by the hand or ideas of that doctrinaire duke. Whether he is to be normally, or otherwise, chief of the Ministry in *petit*, grows, since the last few days, highly questionable.

Before the returns of the Pyrenees election came in there were caucuses of delegates from Right, Center (Orleanist), and Moderate Right (Legitimist), the result of whose deliberations was a rupture, that should seem final, of the two. The Duke de Broglie himself as good as admitted that the reconstruction of the "conservative majority" of 24th May could no longer be hoped for. Among the conceivable consequences of this breach (and of the nature of it) is conjectured to be that the Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier may become the new premier, which might mean that he would associate with himself the intensely conservative republican Dufaure of the right edge of the Left Center, and, in fine, arrive at that land where it is thought the two Centers may at last conjoin. Although a duke, d'Audiffret-Pasquier is a quite modern and in a sort a constitutional monarch, but in his hate and patriotic fervor of Bonapartism he is ready to accept and strengthen the actual Republic for the next six years. The difference between him and the Duke de Broglie may be expressed in this formula: If he comes to worse, he would prefer seeing a future Republic than an Empire; the other Duke would prefer seeing an Empire than a Republic. Both protest against both, and would not willingly work for either. The Duke de Broglie's Olympian conceit blinds him to a danger that d'Audiffret-Pasquier, despite avowed eyes, clearly comprehends.

The great failing of these and other leaders of groups of deputies, or of leading editors of journals of all parties, is a sorry party narrowness of view. In the Assembly a few Frenchmen, notoriously not representing the present rule and wishes of the numerous Frenchmen who for a special purpose four years ago sent them there, presume to assume a power which, in their own showing, they do not possess, and impose the exercise of it without moral force in defiance of the expressed national wish and will. In this and respect and view it must be confessed that the Republicans are not to be distinguished favorably from other political sects. They have come to fear the formidable growth, shown in late elections, of Democratic Imperialism. They have lately made what to an outside Liberal and well-wisher for the quiet advent of the fatally

coming French Republic seems a needlessly gross error, in the manner and spirit with which they have instituted and propose to have conducted the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry respecting the Nievre election. Last May, M. Bourgeois, Bonapartist, was elected Deputy in the Department of the Nievre. So thereafter a Republican Deputy of the department brought to the notice of the Assembly a copy of what seemed to be a circular letter, issuing from a central Bonapartist Committee, which, in its terms and purposes, seemed to reveal illegal action and purposes on the part of its authors. The formal administrative investigations into this impropriety that were thus instituted had a suspiciously small meaningful result. The recently named Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into this case, when a frankly renowned Bonapartist was elected, is composed of one reasonable Frenchman and 15 other Republicans, Orleanists, and Legitimists, who cordially hate each other, determined for party purposes to investigate and find wrong all action in committee of all Bonapartists.

A COMPREHENSIVE EPISCOPATE.

A REMARKABLE LETTER FROM A HIGH CHURCHMAN.

THE CONFIRMATION OF A LOW CHURCH BISHOP—URGENT REQUEST JAGGARD'S EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY FOR MR. CHENEY, AND SUBSEQUENT REPUTATION OF THE CUMMINS MOVEMENT—A NOVEL SPECIES OF RETALIATION.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

SIR: The remark has been made in my hearing, as if the fact were likely to induce certain Standing Committees and Bishops to withhold their consent to the consecration of the Rev. Dr. Jaggard, that he was one of the signers of a letter of sympathy for Mr. Cheney, at the time of his first sentence by an ecclesiastical court in Illinois. This, I confess, would be a member of the Convention, that chose him. But now that it is chosen, the question is entirely different. It is not whether we will "choose" a certain man, but whether we will refuse to permit the consecration of one who is duly chosen.

Now the solemn testimonial signed by the Diocesan Convention in his favor is positive evidence which ought not to be set aside on grounds still more positive. We shall have no end of scandals and troubles if the extraordinary means resorted to in order to defeat Dr. Seymour are to be employed after every election of any man of decided views in either direction. The recent trial of the Duke de Broglie, and the protest against him, that letter of sympathy for Mr. Cheney was a natural expression of party feeling by party men for one of their own party, who in their opinion was suffering solely for his fidelity to their party principles. But, right or wrong, it was more than three years ago, and for any Standing Committee to refuse to sign the testimonial of a bishop-elect because of a thing that happened longer ago than "three years last past," is simply an unbecoming imbecility.

There are three parts to the testimonial a Standing Committee is called on to sign. The first is purely relative. The second, that the Bishop-elect is not, so far as the information is known, liable to evil report, either for error in religion or for viciousness of life. The man may be "liable to evil report" in both directions. The air may be full of rumors against him. Newspapers and pamphlets may overflow with assaults. But the existence of rumors is not sufficient to outweigh the positive solemn written evidence of the Diocesan testimonial. To outweigh that the Standing Committee must know, not that he is "liable to evil report" but that he is "justly liable" to a very different thing. And in order to be liable to evil report he must be "justly liable" to it. The information on which the Standing Committee is called on to sign is that the Duke de Broglie is not, so far as the information is known, liable to evil report, either for error in religion or for viciousness of life. 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